*Behind the Attacks on SNCC, P. 3*

## Diseases Not Usually Acquired in Sunday School

**"If you could read about the deeds they are doing, you wouldn't be talking about brothels in Vietnam, you would be talking about Sunday schools. . . ."**

*—Dr. George H. Davis, National City Christian Church, preaching a sermon with LBJ present, May 28.*

The top U.S. military surgeon in Saigon, Col. Spurgeon H. Neel, Jr., according to *The Medical Tribune* (April 13), reported venereal disease the No. 1 ailment of U.S. troops in Vietnam, with 18,383 cases in 1965, "more than twice the number of diarrheal diseases, the next most prevalent." The same account said there were 22,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam at the beginning of the year and 180,000 at the end, or an average of 102,000. This means almost one serviceman in five contracted VD.

# I. F. Stone's Weekly

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# The Cost of Ky's Little Triumphs

Malcolm Muggeridge in reviewing Kerensky's *Memoirs* for the London *Observer* May 29 says Kerensky "contends the Allied Governments secretly favored and helped the Kornilov counter-revolutionary conspiracy" against "Russia's one and only essay in genuinely representative government" because they thought a military dictatorship "would strengthen Russia's will and capacity to continue with the war." The Allies thus weakened Kerensky and helped the Bolsheviks. The parallel with events in South Vietnam is striking. The armed repression of dissident Buddhist elements with American encouragement is in the pattern of our Vietnamese policy. Fear of a democratic regime and reliance on dictatorship have polarized the country's politics between right and left to the latter's advantage by leaving the opposition with no alternatives but submission or the National Liberation Front. The crushing of the Buddhists is from this point of view a political victory for the NLF.

### Secretary Rusk's Complacency

The Administration cannot afford to see this. To recognize it would be to admit that U.S. policy has been wrong from the start. So Secretary Rusk at press conference May 27 told us complacently, "Well, the political problem, thus far, has been centered in the northeast corner of the First Corps, and at the present time primarily in the town of Hué and with a certain group in Saigon. The rest of the country has been proceeding in more or less normal fashion. . . ."! It would be more correct to say that *open opposition* to the military dictatorship in the territory it controls is at present localized in Hué and Saigon. But that is not the same as the political problem. The political problem is that there is little popular support for the military dictatorship. The rebel Buddhist radio in Hué put its finger on the problem in a broadcast May 26 which was monitored here but not reported in the press. The Hué radio objected to "unconditional support" by the U.S. of one-man rule. "From Ngo Dinh Diem to Nguyen Khanh, Tran Van Huong and now Thieu-Ky, the Vietnamese people have vainly asked the U.S. Administration to abandon this unrealistic policy." It said "The U.S. must be the friend and ally of Vietnam in the anti-Communist struggle. But the U.S. must not be the master of Vietnam." Unless this policy is changed "the Vietnamese people cannot let the Americans take this territory at any price."

### At The Very Moment LBJ Was Deriding Goldwater

**An extraordinary statement, which has gone remarkably unnoticed, was made by the New York Times May 20 in a lead editorial, "Blow the Whistle on Saigon." It said, "In the summer of 1964 Premier Khanh was promised a bombing offensive against the North, presumably on presidential authority, to extract pledges from Saigon of governmental stability and efficacity. When the bombing of the North finally began the following winter, its primary objective—as explained by the highest American officials in Saigon—was to stabilize the politics of South Vietnam." We put aside the political idiocy which could assume that bombing Hanoi would stabilize Saigon. The important point here is that, if this is true, the Johnson Administration had secretly promised a sharp escalation of the war at the very time Johnson was campaigning against Goldwater, and deriding the idea of extending the conflict to the North. We believe so serious a statement in the country's leading newspaper calls for Senatorial inquiry and a request for explanation by the White House.**

This is the voice of a nationalist and not a pro-Communist opposition. But to admit this would be to blur the cozy black-and-white of the Administration's war propaganda. The basic truth of which one must not lose sight is that we do not know what the Vietnamese people are thinking. There is no free press through which they can express themselves. Any questioning of the war risks imprisonment. It is through mass demonstrations like those of the Buddhists that we get some idea of dissatisfaction under the surface. Of course, a major indicator of something fundamentally wrong is that the Viet Cong, with a force only one-third the size of that arrayed against them, appear able to hold more territory than we do, and to retake "liberated" areas as soon as our troops withdraw. In the current crisis it is revealing that no voice is raised for continuation of the Thieu-Ky regime. Even those opposed to elections at this time are for a broader-based and more representative government. This is where the hard-line Catholics join the dissident Buddhists. In supporting the military dictatorship, and its repressive actions, we are I believe setting ourselves against the majority of the Vietnamese people.

*(Continued on Page Four)*



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**From the Testimony Fulbright Elicited In Putting The Vietnam Conflict "On The Couch"**

# Senators For The First Time Are Given A Look Into The Deeper Roots of War

The role of psychological factors in international conflict has not gone unnoticed by national leaders. Gen. Douglas MacArthur addressing the American Legion in 1955 said, "The present tensions with their threat of national annihilation are kept alive by two great illusions. The one, a complete belief on the part of the Soviet world that the capitalist countries are preparing to attack it . . . the other, a complete belief on the part of the capitalist countries that the Soviet are preparing to attack us. . . . Both are wrong. Each side, so far as the masses are concerned, is equally desirous of peace. For either side, war with the other would mean nothing but disaster. . . . But the constant acceleration of preparation may well, without specific intent, ultimately produce a spontaneous combustion" (*Readers Digest*, May 1955). . . .

## The Other Is Always The Wicked One

When nations are in conflict, the images of each other that they form regularly take on the same features. Each adversary sees itself as peacefully inclined and the other as aggressive. Sometimes each regards the citizens of the other as friendly but misled by their leaders. Today American and Chinese statesmen each assert that the Chinese and American peoples are well-disposed toward each other; it is only the leaders on the other side who are responsible for the conflict. . . . Once nations find themselves in a position of mutual antagonism, each interprets the actions of the other as based on bad motives, just as its own actions always spring from good ones. . . .

A psychologically crucial part of the reality world of any group is its beliefs about the nature of existence. Every person has to shield himself somehow from the unendurable realization that his individual life is a very transitory and insignificant event in an ongoing universe. He does this by embracing an ideology or religion that links his life to some larger, more enduring purpose. For many this is an abstraction like God or Democracy or Communism. . . . For many persons surrendering the belief that gives meaning to their lives and links them to their group would be intolerable. . . . The existence of a group that holds an ideology different from our own creates anxiety. Why? Because the very fact that they maintain different beliefs implies that ours might be wrong. . . .

In the Vietnam war, for both sides psychological issues have become very important. From a strictly materialistic standpoint, the territory of Vietnam is of limited strategic importance to us, and the Vietcong would be much better off economically if they peacefully acquiesced in our presence. But we see behind the struggle for territory such psychological issues as whether our will or that of China is stronger, whether other nations can trust our commitments and above all whose view of the world will eventually prevail. . . .

Thus the Vietnam war has assumed an ideological character similar to the holy wars of former times, and this has ominous implications. People who are fighting for their ideals seldom if ever can be forced into surrender by punishment. . . . To suffer and die for a holy cause is highly virtuous, and one hopes through example to convert others by one's own sacrifice. The notion that one can cause people to abandon their ideologies by inflicting pain on them should have died in Rome with the Christian martyrs.

In contrast to wars fought for tangible spoils, ideological wars have no natural end point. As a result, in the past they have characteristically been stopped only by exhaustion of both sides after tremendous carnage, with the survivors still clinging to their respective beliefs. Today, with weapons of unlimited destructive power lurking in the wings, such wars threaten to expand until they destroy civilization.

*—Dr. Jerome D. Frank, Professor of Psychiatry at Johns Hopkins, before Senate Foreign Relations May 25.*

### The Pitfalls of Calculated Escalation

**Is it possible to escalate the intensity of attack upon an opponent with one hand while simultaneously holding out an olive branch in the other? 'I do not believe this is psychologically feasible. . . . An opponent can be bombed into surrender, or even into non-existence but he cannot be bombed into honest negotiations. . . .**

**No one in his right mind wants a full-scale nuclear war. Therefore escalation as a strategy comes down to know when and how to get off the escalator. But it is always the opponent who is supposed to back down. . . . If the U.S. is indeed experimenting with calculated escalation as a strategy for dealing with 'wars of national liberation,' then I think we are in danger of swallowing a baited hook. . . . The hook is psychological. . . . Physically escalators can run down just as easily as up but psychologically it is much easier to keep on going up than to stop and back down.**

*—Prof. Chas. E. Osgood, Univ. of Illinois psychologist before Senate Foreign Relations Com., May 25.*

## Why The "White" Man Is Distrusted Among Darker Peoples Everywhere

**Dr. Brock CHISHOLM (former Director General, the World Health Organization): One of the areas, I think, in which we, of the pinkish people or so-called white people, do need to do a great deal of thinking is about our reputation on earth. The white man, so-called, is not evaluated by his own standards all over the world, because the white man's standards are very clear cut. He is a good one, and this is very clear to the people who have been brought up in particular situations and particular groups.**

**But to the vast majority of the world's peoples this simply does not obtain. To most of the world's people, the white man it seems is the bad one. He is the man who moved in on their ancestors, slaughtered many of them, captured them, sold them into slavery, exploited their natural resources for his own benefit . . . and this is overwhelmingly the common feeling about the white man practically all over the world. It is possible for people all over the world to cooperate with white people, but they do it still with their fingers crossed, watching carefully for the gimmick which will be for the benefit of the white man . . . and it will take a very long time for the white man to live down that reputation because it was, in fact, a very well-deserved reputation.**

**Sen. GORE (D. Tenn): Is this true in Vietnam today?**
**Dr. CHISHOLM: Yes, all over Southeast Asia. . . .**

*—Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 25.*

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**Behind the Hostile Press Campaign Unleashed by the Election of Stokely Carmichael**

# SNCC Does Not Wish to Become A New Version of the White Man's Burden

We hope white liberals will not be taken in by the press campaign against the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee since Stokely Carmichael succeeded John Lewis as national chairman. White sympathizers with the Negro have to keep several things in mind. One is that in any movement the leverage exerted by the moderates depends on the existence of an extremist fringe. The second is that a certain amount of black nationalism is inevitable among Negroes; they cannot reach equality without the restoration of pride in themselves as Negroes. The third is that this cannot be achieved unless they learn to fight for themselves, not just as wards of white men, no matter how sympathetic. SNCC is reacting against a new version of the White Man's Burden.

## Fresh Approach to Southern Politics

No white man really knows what it is like to be shut into the ghetto. "The Negro," as Martin Luther King said in a vivid phrase on CBS *Face The Nation* May 29, "is still smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of this very affluent society." For the white sympathizer, the struggle against the ghetto is an act of philanthropy; for the Negro, it is a battle to save himself, not just from poverty but from a corrosive self-contempt. The ghetto dweller distrusts the white SNCC worker. Mr. Carmichael's idea of recruiting black SNCC workers from Northern ghettoes is psychologically sound. His idea of using white SNCC workers to organize the Southern poor white to the point where joint action between white and black becomes possible opens fresh perspectives in Southern politics.

The wonderful white boys and girls who went South in the past few years helped to thaw out the Negro from political deep freeze. But now that the battle has shifted from the simpler symbolic acts of sitting at a segregated lunch counter or in a segregated waiting room to the harder and more complicated tasks of winning a real economic and social equality, the job will have to be done by Negroes themselves. These are not tasks for a summer adventure in between classes. They can only be accomplished if Negroes are mobilized to carry on for themselves. In such areas as the Black Belt, where the Negro is a majority, this means seeking majority rule and that means Negro majorities. Otherwise the Negro is at the mercy of a white minority. In Lowndes county, Alabama, for example, where the Negro third party, Black Panther movement, originated, the white Sheriff has deputized every white man over 21. To be a deputy is to have the right to carry a gun, and to have a kind of hunting license to shoot Negroes.

This is the background against which one must read Carmichael's statement, "We feel that integration is irrelevant; it is just a substitute for white supremacy. We have got to go after political power." He asked an audience in Washington last week-end, "How are you going to integrate a sharecropper making $3 a day with a plantation-owner making $20,000 a year?"

Some people were shocked by Mr. Carmichael's angry remark, "We want quality education, not integrated education." But here I believe he expresses the reaction of Southern Negroes to the bitter experience of integration. The *Wall St. Journal* (May 26) carried a story, "The Invisible Wall" on the ostracism and the humiliation visited on those few Negroes who have often literally risked their lives to get into white schools. Many are leaving. This frightened handful in white schools only distracts attention from the need for first rate education in the Negro schools. This is just as true in the North where the Negro schools are segregated by the flight to the suburbs. Only by improved schooling can the Negro be fitted to compete as an equal in a hostile white world. To dismiss this as Negro nationalism is neither fair nor perceptive.

Of course the main reason for the campaign against SNCC is the statement it issued refusing to take part in the White House Conference on Civil Rights which convened as we were going to press. "Our organization," it said, "is opposed to war in Vietnam and we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights when he violates the human rights of colored people in Vietnam."

## High Ratio of Negro Combat Troops

This speaks the unspoken thoughts of many Negroes. The war is an affront to them. The proportion of Negroes in combat troops Joseph Alsop reported May 25 was "running above 20 percent in the average infantry company" because Negro recruits, with a lower average of technical skills, are less likely to be assigned to one of the technical specialties." The ratio in combat units is thus almost twice the Negro's ratio to population. The same discrimination that deprived Negroes of education puts them into the front ranks of battle in a struggle supposedly to preserve abroad a democracy denied them at home. How can they be blamed if they, like so many Vietnamese, see this as another white man's war?

But the main point, as Dr. King expressed it on TV, is that the war is wasting the money and the energy which can alone rehabilitate the Negro and bring him fully into the American community. Dr. King sounded very radical when he said this would cost $10 billion a year for ten years. The Vietnamese war already costs more than that, and the price will rise as it escalates. Is it any wonder SNCC feels bitter?

### A Cruelly Disproportionate Sentence

**We are glad to add our voice to the many which have been raised for reducing or suspending the sentence of 5 years in jail imposed on Ralph Ginzburg, publisher of Eros for sending obscene material through the mail. The sentence is all out of proportion to the offense, especially since Edward Mishkin, whose conviction was also upheld by the Supreme Court, was given only three years in jail for publishing hard-core pornography with no excuse whatsoever, medical or aesthetic as in Ginzburg's case. We believe the 14 opinions handed down by the Court in these two cases reflect the impossible task imposed upon it of acting as a censor of literature. Our earlier comment on the cases dealt with a different question. We believe the First Amendment, which embodies the most precious heritage of free society, establishes duties as well as rights. We believe that liberals who try to make a fast and dirty buck on the side by pornography, betray the cause of freedom. But we would not send a man to jail because he disagrees.**



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# Buddhist Daily Shut Down For Publishing Non-Buddhist Protest Against Ky

*(Continued from Page One)*

A curious affair no reporter on the scene has investigated merits attention in this respect. On May 26 the Saigon radio broadcast without comment the text of a resolution adopted by "The Front of Citizens of Various Religions." This was signed by three Catholics, including their best known leader, Father Quynh; and two representatives each of the Hoa Hao, the Cao Dai, the Protestants and a moderate Buddhist group opposed to Tri Quang. Of the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao signers, one each was a General; both these sects have their own armed forces. The resolution said that after three years of military rule, the situation "has constantly and seriously deteriorated in all political, military and economic fields." It asked General Thieu and General Ky to resign "to safeguard solidarity in the ranks of the army and the people." It did not call for elections but it asked the Armed Forces Council to set up "a transitional civilian government which can unite the people." Finally—and this probably explains why the broadcast got by Saigon's erratic and not too bright censors—it called on the people and the army "to unite closely as fish and water to realize the anti-Communist national salvation struggle." This echoed Mao Tse-tung's famous maxim about the guerrilla living among the people as a fish in water, but turned it to anti-Communist purposes in the fashion set by our special CIA-trained "pacification teams."

## They Made It Unanimous

The signers of this manifesto represented those religious elements which support the war and oppose the dissident Buddhists. In calling for the resignations of Thieu and Ky, they were therefore making the Buddhist demand all but unanimous. The manifesto was published in *Dat To* (Fatherland), a Buddhist daily. Next day it was closed down by the military junta for failing to observe censorship and for printing unspecified "false news reports" (*New York Times*, May 27). A day later Saigon radio broadcast a short statement by Father Quynh declaring the manifesto "entirely distorted and harmful in the present situation." He did not say the manifesto was a fabrication, nor that the other signatories agreed with this disavowal. It bore all the earmarks of having been obtained under pressure, especially since Father Quynh has made similar and more outspoken anti-Ky statements on his own, notably in an interview with UPI (*Washington Post*, March 27) in which he said Ky's rule was worse than Diem's.

This incident shows how widely opposition has spread and how deluded our government is in dismissing Buddhist protest as of limited significance. Under the surface a latent second civil war is far from suppressed. This recalls another passage I noticed in Kerensky's *Memoirs* when I looked into them for myself. "There was one thing the Allies failed to take into account," Kerensky wrote, "when they lent their support to Kornilov. It did not occur to them that, having seized power, the military dictator would not have had time for the imperialist war—all his efforts would have been directed toward civil war." This is what is happening to the Ky dictatorship in South Vietnam, and this is why our troops are carrying the brunt of the war against the Viet Cong.

### James R. Newman

**It is painful to record the sudden death at 58 of James R. Newman. He wielded one of the sharpest pens of our time, and he wielded it in the cause of peace and sanity. His famous review of Herman Kahn's On Thermonuclear War for the Scientific American, beginning "Is there a Herman Kahn?" was more than literature; it was murder; no victim ever deserved it more. His little book, "The Rule of Folly" is a classic satire in the struggle against atomic war. Newman enlisted in this early. As counsel to McMahon's Special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy in 1945-46 he mobilized the scientific community in a successful battle to keep atomic development from military control. In Science and Sensibility may be found some of his attacks on McCarthyism and the atmosphere created by the Truman-Acheson cold war. These, to his credit, shut him out of public life. He was doubly rare—a lawyer who could write and a writer who knew the world of science and mathematics. The book he wrote with Prof. Edward Kasner, Mathematics and the Imagination, turned an abstruse subject into poetry, as do many of his prefaces in the 4-volume anthology he edited, The World of Mathematics. The country lost a gifted citizen, and we a dear friend.**

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